

history of the United States. On that Wednesday when we return he will move that we vote on a constitutional amendment, for the first time in the history of our country, to amend the Bill of Rights, not only the Bill of Rights but the first 16 words of the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights designed to defend religion against intrusion by the Federal Government.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken previously from the well of this House outlining that the arguments in favor of this constitutional amendment are really based on false premises. The premise that there is no religion in school, that somehow government and liberal Federal judges have taken religion out of our schools when, in fact, *Time Magazine* recently documented that there are thousands of public schools all over America that have bible worship groups and religion prayer groups both before and after school. The fact is that prayer is allowed in America's public schools, as long as that prayer is not prescribed by government officials or forced upon students involuntarily.

I have talked about all of these issues and I have talked about the downside of some of the things that could happen under the Istook amendment. What I would like to do with just several days left before we have this historic vote on the floor of the House is to raise some questions that I hope the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) and supporters of this effort to amend our Nation's Bill of Rights would be willing to answer before we have this vote. Let me just list some of these kinds of questions that, as of the debate so far, have been left unanswered.

First, under the Istook amendment, who will decide which religious prayers are heard in a public forum? Who will determine what prayers are said in the classroom? Second, will 9-year-old students in public classes be deciding which prayers are heard? Third, would the determination of which prayers are said be based on the percentage of students in that religion at a particular school in that community or that State? Or would that decision be made by a committee of students, perhaps 9-year-olds, perhaps 10-year-olds to select prayers. Fourth, who would ensure that minorities are not excluded from offering their public prayers in school and over the PA system? What if a committee, for example, of students decides that a Jewish prayer or another prayer simply will not be allowed? Who will protect the rights of minorities in such a majority rule situation? Will it be first graders and second graders and third graders in our public school classrooms that will be forced to defend the constitutional rights as outlined in our First Amendment by our Founding Fathers? If not, the alternative is to allow government officials, teachers, administrators to make that decision of which prayers will be allowed and which rules will be used.

Next I would ask this question: Would a Satanic prayer be allowed in the public school classrooms under the Istook amendment? Would the Santerias, defined by our courts as a religion in America, be allowed to participate in their prayer ritual in our schools, part of which concerns or part of which includes animal sacrifices? Will that be allowed in the third grade classrooms of America's schools? If not, will it be the teachers or school administrators or government officials deciding which prayer ritual is okay and which is not?

The next question I would raise is, would this amendment prevent a teacher from proselytizing his or her students? Additionally, I do not see anything in the Istook amendment that would prohibit outside religious groups from proselytizing young children, including first graders, on public school grounds. It seems to me that under the Istook amendment, the experience that many of us have in our Nation's airports, being accosted by religious groups and sometimes religious cults, is going to be replicated on thousands of public school grounds all over America.

That is the question that the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) and the proponents of this effort to, in my opinion, massacre the Bill of Rights and the First Amendment thereof have an obligation to answer before we cast this historic vote in a couple of weeks.

Next question, will a wiccan be able to hold a ceremony in a public school cafeteria? It appears from the language of the Istook amendment the answer to that would be yes. Next question, will students be able to read Satanic prayers over the PA system in our public schools every morning? Next, will judges be allowed to lead juries in prayer before consideration of a court case? If so, would a judge be allowed to recite the bible and the verse that talks about an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth before the jury makes its decision?

All of these unanswered questions ought to be answered by the supporters of the Istook amendment before we vote to amend the Bill of Rights.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HUTCHINSON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.

#### HALTING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Mr. Speaker, last week India, the world's largest de-

mocracy, conducted five nuclear weapons tests setting off a barrage of international criticism led by our own Nation. It is feared that a South Asian nuclear arms race with Pakistan shall have global implications, encouraging North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya and others to pursue nuclear ambitions.

Days ago, former President Jimmy Carter addressed the issue of India's nuclear tests in commencement speeches he delivered at Trinity College at the University of Pennsylvania. I found President Carter's remarks, as reported by the news wires, to be very enlightening and wanted to share them with my colleagues.

President Carter, the last American President to visit India, noted that the United States, a country that possesses thousands of nuclear weapons, fails to ratify a comprehensive test ban treaty and continues to deploy land mines is hardly one that has the right to demand the opposite from other nations such as India.

Pointing out the hypocrisy of U.S. nuclear policy, Mr. Carter stated, "It is hard for us to tell India you cannot have a nuclear device, while maintaining we will keep our nuclear weapons, 8,000 or more nuclear bombs, and we are not ready to reduce them yet."

Mr. Carter continued, "We claim we are for a comprehensive test ban to prevent all testing of nuclear weapons, but we still have not ratified the treaty. We claim we want to reduce nuclear arsenals," said Mr. Carter, "but many years later the START II treaty is still not in effect with Russia."

In expressing concern about India's nuclear tests, Mr. Speaker, President Carter further states, "People look to the United States with great admiration but also for guidance. We have not been fair in trying to keep people from developing nuclear weapons."

President Carter concluded, "If the United States wishes to halt the global arms race, they must lead by example and not by condemnation."

Mr. Speaker, President Carter's points are well taken. Many around the world are starting to conclude India's nuclear tests are in great part a direct result of the failure of the United States and the other four members of the nuclear club to seriously move forward towards nuclear disarmament.

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Yesterday, at the United Nations, Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that, "Our senses have been lulled a little bit with regard to the nuclear danger, but I think what has happened in India has woken everybody up." In discussing India and Pakistan, Annan said the five self-declared nuclear powers, the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China, must take stock of their positions because, and I quote, "You cannot have an exclusive club who have nuclear weapons and are refusing to disband it and tell them now not to have it. The nuclear powers need to set an example for other nations."

Mr. Dan Plesch, the director of the British-American Security Information Council, an arms control group, has asked, "How much longer can we hang on to our own nuclear weapons while trying to prevent others from getting them? Either we say nuclear deterrence is goods for all, or we carry out a realistic program to ban nuclear weapons."

Mr. Speaker, in a world discriminating between nuclear haves and have-nots, there will always be the temptation for nuclear proliferation. Clearly, global nuclear disarmament is the only real solution to this madness.

In 1975, the international community, including the nuclear powers, outlawed the development, production, stockpiling and the use of biological agents for warfare through the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. In 1977, the international community supported the coming into force of the Chemical Weapons Convention, which likewise prohibited the development, production and use of chemical weapons throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, because of their horrific and destructive nature, biological and chemical weapons have been declared immoral and illegitimate, and are not to be tolerated. However, Mr. Speaker, there is no weapon of mass destruction that is more horrific, more destructive or more deadly than nuclear weapons. The argument for the elimination of this incomprehensibly monstrous force that threatens the world's inhabitants and our very planet is self-evident.

It is time, Mr. Speaker, that the nuclear powers negotiate a nuclear weapons convention that requires the phased elimination of all nuclear weapons within a time frame incorporating verification and enforcement provisions. We cannot afford to squander the dangerous wake-up call sent by India's recent nuclear tests.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD two news articles regarding this topic:

[The Wall Street Journal, May 19, 1998]

HYPOCRISY IS THE HALLMARK OF THE NUCLEAR FLAP

(By George Melloan)

At the wind-up of the G-8 summit in Birmingham Sunday, French President Jacques Chirac issued a stern warning to Pakistan: If you dare to test a nuclear weapon, the G-8 will use a communiqué "exactly identical to the one we put out on India."

By "exactly identical," which probably sounds less redundant in French, he meant that the G-8 would "express our grave concern." That's what the G-8 lashed India with, so Pakistan had better watch out. No doubt the Paks reacted privately with the same degree of amusement that the Indians were unable to suppress over the posturing by the leaders of "the world's eight leading nations" in response to India's tests.

There is of course nothing funny about nuclear weapons, but the grandstanding in Birmingham had elements of comedy. The assemblage—relying no doubt on the same superb intelligence that had kept them all in the dark about India's testing plans—at one point was led to believe that even during their debate Pakistan had exploded a bomb somewhere. Had someone not set them

straight, they might have fired that exactly identical "grave concern" communiqué at Karachi prematurely. The Paks were doing their best, with differing statements from different officials, to confuse the world about whether they in fact will match the tests by their neighboring archenemy.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin was among the summitters expressing "grave concern." He has been allowed to join the Group of Seven (G-7) leading member nations of the International Monetary Fund, so it now is routinely called the G-8. He can't mix in economic deliberations because Russia is on the IMF dole, but his country still is taken seriously as a military power. That may be because it has 877 nuclear ICMBs, able to strike anywhere in the world. That statistic is from that latest "Military Balance" published by London's International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and doesn't begin to cover Russia's total capability. Many of its missiles have multiple warheads and it also has 452 submarine-based nukes. Mr. Yeltsin's grave concern apparently doesn't extend to preventing Russian nuclear and missile technology from leaking to would-be nuclear states, if U.S. suspicions are correct.

The world's most populous nation, China, has more than 17 intercontinental and more than 38 intermediate-range nukes, according to the IISS estimate. It also has been accused by the U.S. of selling missile technology to Pakistan among others. And it also has tested its nukes when it pleased, thumbing its nose at the world at large. But Bill Clinton is so friendly with the Chinese that in 1996 he was willing to overrule State Department objections to letting them launch U.S.-made space satellites despite the danger of giving them valuable missile technology, according to reports in the New York Times over the weekend. He also seems to have been less than assiduous about preventing the Chinese from insinuating themselves into the U.S. political process through violations of the U.S. campaign finance laws, judging from testimony by erstwhile go-between and frequent White House visitor Johnny Chung made public last week.

Given the way the American president treats the two big non-NATO nuclear powers, should it be any surprise that Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee decided to go public with India's nukes? His BJP Hindu nationalist party leads a shaky new governing coalition and he smelled added popularity from showing that Indian can "stand up," as Mao would have put it. He may have been right. TV footage showed Indians dancing in the streets on hearing the news. Beware of TV scenes, which often are staged, but it is not unbelievable that Indians might think that becoming the world's sixth declared nuclear nation will finally win them some respect.

It hasn't so far, of course. Mr. Clinton's reaction was to slap on sanctions, cutting off U.S. direct aid and threatening to veto further help from the IMF and the World Bank. But it's early times, and Mr. Vajpayee is smart enough to know that a cutoff of outside aid might be just the thing to help him with the politics of installing policies, such as opening the country up to more foreign investment, that will allow India to develop on its own. Just being noticed by those big-time guys in Birmingham, and the folks next door in China, he might figure, is almost worth the cost of losing handouts from the U.S., Japan, Canada, Australia and Germany, the countries that have applied sanctions.

What truly upset the folks in Birmingham, and Mr. Clinton especially, was not the fear that India will now shoot nuclear missiles at its neighbors. Two of those neighbors, China

and Russia, could annihilate India in response and Pakistan, probably, could at least retaliate in kind. What troubles the leaders, and much of the global intellectual community, is this further evidence that arms control treaties do not control the spread of modern arms. The two Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties of the Cold War were full of holes and the Russian parliament has not ratified the successor, START II. In the CFE deal limiting conventional weapons in Europe, the U.S.S.R. got a loophole excluding "naval" troops, of which it turned out to have had quite a number who had never set foot on a ship. Iraq has not been at all inhibited by chemical and biological weapons limitations.

Attempting to apply nuclear controls internationally has run afoul of realities. We live in a world of nation states. Those states that do not feel threatened, do not want the expense of nukes and want to enjoy a pretense of virtue, have readily signed onto the antiproliferation and test-ban treaties. India and Pakistan, living in a rough neighborhood unprotected by NATO or other alliances, have put national security ahead of niceties. It's too bad, but that's the way it is.

Bill Clinton had every right to be shocked at this latest mugging by reality. He heads what some choose to call the world's most powerful nation. But it has no defense against nuclear missiles. In the harsh equation of war, the U.S.'s very wealth works against it should it ever be threatened by a poor country with nuclear missiles. It would have a lot more to lose, and even if it suffered a limited attack it would be reluctant to use its vast might against the impoverished masses of the attacking country. Maybe Mr. Clinton should think more about U.S. security.

[From the New York Times, Tues., May 19, 1998]

#### KEEPING NUCLEAR ARMS IN CHECK

India's nuclear weapons test threaten to undo 35 years worth of work by the United States and other countries to limit the spread of nuclear arms. Instead of abandoning those efforts and improvising new approaches, a course recommended by some arms control experts, Washington and its allies should redouble their commitment to make the international control system work effectively.

As difficult as it may be, India and Pakistan must be persuaded to sign and abide by the 1996 test ban treaty that has now been signed by 149 nations. By joining the treaty, India and Pakistan would bind themselves to refrain from any future testing. Their inclusion would also make it easier to detect violations by permitting the installation of monitoring equipment at their nuclear test sites.

Enlisting India and Pakistan would be easier if the Senate ratified the test ban treaty, now irresponsibly held up by Senator Jesse Helms. Once again, the capricious chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee is holding the nation's interest hostage to his ideological whims. Ratification would allow Washington to participate in a review conference next year that will develop diplomatic strategies for bringing holdout nations into the treaty. Without American leadership, the treaty itself and the conference will be empty exercises.

The performance of American intelligence agencies should also be improved so that future test preparations by any country can be spotted in advance, giving diplomats the chance to intervene. The White House was given no warning about the Indian underground explosions. Some of the \$400 million a year the Energy Department now spends on

nuclear weapons detection research ought to be used to develop sensitive seismic measuring devices that can monitor low-yield tests from afar.

Non-nuclear countries are more easily dissuaded from developing atomic weapons when nuclear states restrain their own arsenals. Progress in this area has been slowed in recent years. Russia's parliament should long ago have ratified the nuclear missile cuts negotiated more than five years ago by George Bush and Boris Yeltsin.

If Bill Clinton does not want nuclear anarchy to be his foreign policy legacy, he must galvanize the Senate to act on the test ban treaty and use American influence to strengthen the world's arms control mechanisms. Without them, this planet would be a far more dangerous place.

#### U.S. SECURITY FOR SALE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GIBBONS). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. MCINNIS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MCINNIS. Mr. Speaker, as we know, India is one of the largest democracies in the world. China is the largest communist country in the world. President Clinton has taken the time to condemn the largest democracy, one of the largest democracies in the world, India, for developing or testing nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the largest communist country in the world, China.

While the President condemns India, what does the President do with China? Let me quote from a couple of articles here:

"Clinton made a decision to overrule his own Secretary of State and ease the exportation of satellite technology to China in 1996. The Justice Department also is investigating whether two satellite companies, Loral and Hughes Electronics, violated the national security laws in 1996 by giving satellite technology to China that could be used for nuclear missiles."

Remember, China, the largest communist country in the world. This is our President in his negotiations with that country.

Both firms are big Democrat donors. Loral chief, Mr. Schwartz, was the Democrats' biggest single donor in 1995-96, giving more than \$600,000.

Let me quote from U.S. Security for Sale. That is the article. It is an essay by William Safire. U.S. Security for Sale. Essay. Washington:

"A President hungry for money to finance his reelection overruled the Pentagon; he sold to a Chinese military intelligence front the technology that defense experts argued would give Beijing the capacity to blind our spy satellites and launch a sneak attack. How soon we have forgotten Pearl Harbor.

"October 1996 must have been some tense months for the Democratic fundraisers. The New York Times, Wall Street Journal and the Los Angeles Times had begun to expose the Asian connection of John Huang and Indonesia's Riady family to the Clinton campaign.

"The fix was already in to sell the satellite technology to China. Clinton had switched the licensing over to Ron Brown's anything-goes Commerce Department. Johnny Chung had paid up. Commerce's Huang had delivered money big time (though one of his illegal foreign sources had already been spotted). The boss of the satellite's builder had come through as Clinton's largest contributor.

"But public outrage was absent. The FBI didn't read the papers and Reno Justice did not want to embarrass the President. And television news found no pictorial values in the Asian connection. Stealthily, the Clinton administration held back the implementation of the corrupt policy until November 5, the day the campaign ended.

"Now the reporting of Jeff Gerth and the Times' investigative team is putting the spotlight of pitiless publicity on the sellout of American security.

"We begin to see how the daughter of China's top military commander steered at least \$300,000 through the Chung channel to the Democratic National Committee. (Apparently Mr. Chung skimmed off a chunk and may be spilling his guts lest he have to face his Beijing friends.)

"We begin to learn more of the February 8, 1996, visit of the arms dealer Wang Jun to the Commerce office of Ron Brown, and Wang's 'coffee' meeting that day with the President, the very day that Clinton approved four Chinese launches, even as China was terrorizing Taiwan with missile tests.

"Clinton's explanation, which used to slyly suggest that China policy was not changed 'solely' by contributors, has now switched to total ignorance; shucks, we didn't know the source of the money. But this President's Democratic National Committee did not know because it wanted not to know; procedures long in place to prevent the unlawful flow of foreign funds were uprooted by the money-hungry Clintonites.

"Today, 2 years after this sale of our security, comes the unforeseen chain reaction; as China strengthens its satellite missile technology, a new Indian Government reacts to the growing threat from its longtime Asian rival and joins the nuclear club. In turn, China feels pressed to supply its threatened ally, Pakistan, with weaponry Beijing promised us not to transfer. This makes Clinton the proliferation President.

"Who has helped keep this sellout of security under wraps?"

Let me just conclude by saying this. India is one of the largest democracies in the world. China is the largest communist country. And I hope every citizen of this country takes the time to read about the technology that was transferred to China through this administration. It is a critical security issue.

Mr. Speaker, the remainder of the article by William Safire, is as follows:

"In the Senate, John Glenn was rewarded with a space flight by Clinton for derogating

the leads to China of the Thompson committee. Fred Thompson's warnings about China's plan to penetrate this White House were then scorned by Democratic partisans; his Government Operations Committee should now swarm all over this.

The House's aggressive agent of the Clinton cover-up, Henry Waxman of California, is finally "troubled" by the prospect of damning evidence he prevented the Burton committee from finding. At least three Democratic partisans who foolishly followed Waxman in blocking the testimony of Asian witnesses may have difficulty explaining their cover-up vote to even more troubled voters in their districts.

The Gerth revelations lead to more questions: Where were the chiefs of the C.I.A. and the National Security Agency, their intelligence so dependent on satellites, on the satellite technology sale to China?

Is anybody at Reno Justice reexamining testimony taken by independent counsel investigating corruption at Commerce before Ron Brown's death? Does Brown's former lawyer claim "dead man's privilege" on notes? Did N.S.A. tape overseas calls of suspect Commerce officials? Who induced Commerce to lobby Clinton for control of satellite technology?

And the most immediate: Will homesick prosecutor Charles LaBella, beholden to Janet Reno for his political appointment in San Diego, dare to offend his patron by calling for independent counsel?"

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. HINCHEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. HINCHEY addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRANKS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. ABERCROMBIE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. SMITH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. SMITH of Michigan addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. COYNE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. COYNE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)